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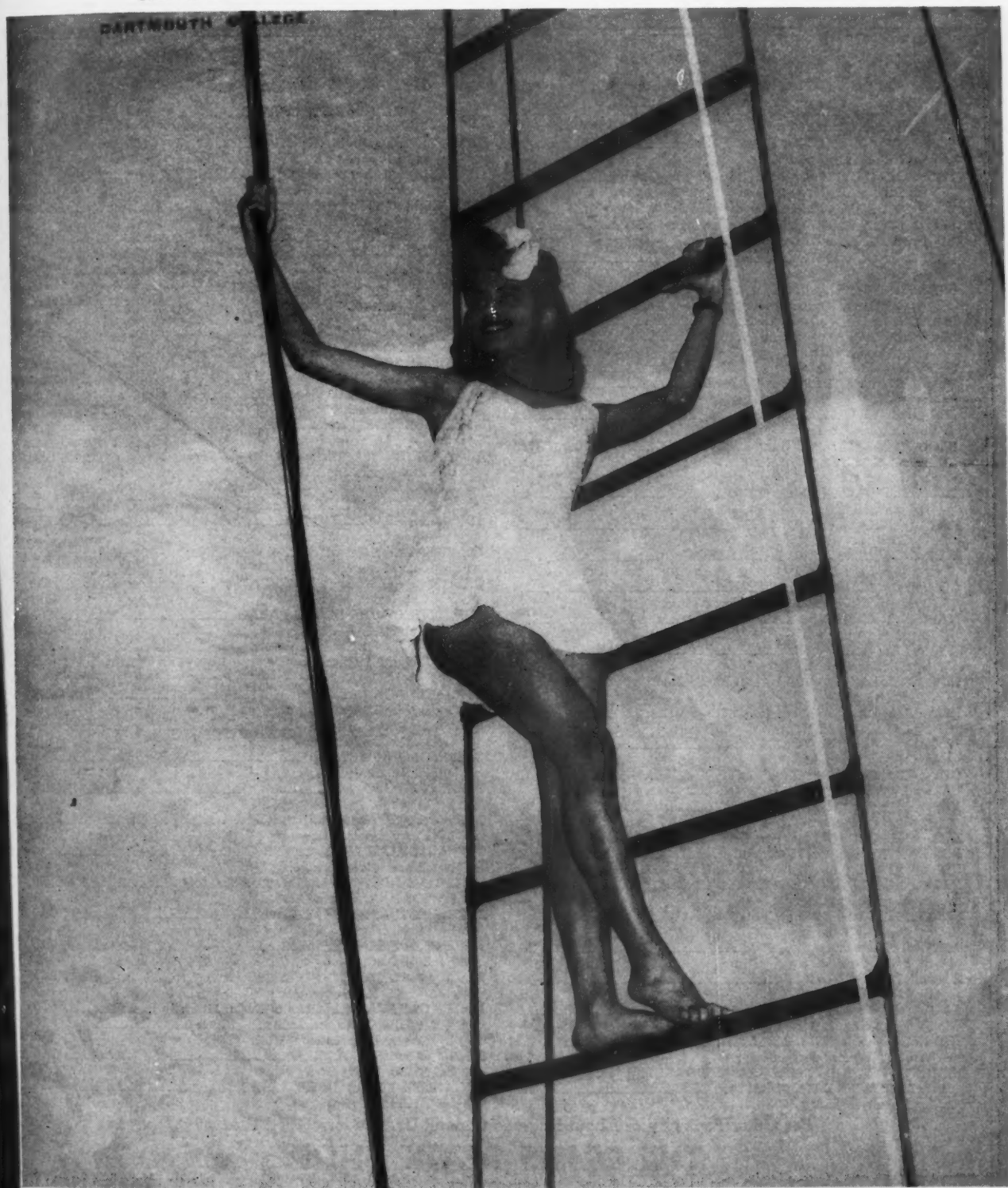
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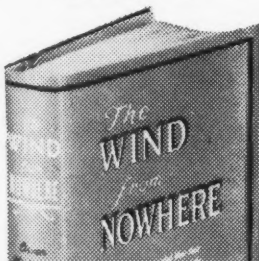
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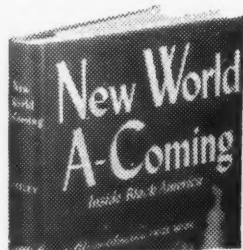


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College and School News

DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE held its fifty-second commencement June 12. Judge Francis E. Rivers, justice of the City Court of New York City, was the speaker.

The seventy-first commencement of BENNETT COLLEGE was held May 29 at which time degrees were conferred upon forty-six seniors from eleven states. Commencement speaker was Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of the chapel, Howard University.

The summer session of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE opened June 12 for a ten weeks' session continuing through August 19.

June 20-30 the college held the aquatic school of the American Red Cross. This was the only aquatic school of the Red Cross held in a Negro college in the eastern area.

Mr. Thomas E. Posey, professor of economics, was a guest lecturer and student at the University of Wisconsin School for Workers. Professor Posey was accorded this honor because of his expert and specialized knowledge of the labor movement.

An informative bulletin of scholarly papers, "An Adventure in Cooperative Research," edited by Harry W. Greene, was published by the college in February. It contains research reports by Hillery C. Thorne, J. St. Clair Price, Francis C. Sumner, John Lovell, Jr., Harold E. Finley, and V. B. Spratlin.

Wiley commencement was held May 28-30. Speaker was Dr. Willis J. King, president of Gammon Theological Seminary.

At its seventy-ninth annual commencement, May 29, SHAW UNIVERSITY conferred honorary degrees upon Miss Nannie Helen Burroughs, president of the National Professional Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, D. C., and Rev. Wendell Clay Somerville, executive secretary of the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention, of the same city.



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Sixty candidates received graduate and professional degrees at the seventy-fifth commencement of ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY. C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., Durham, N. C., was the speaker.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE held its seventy-seventh commencement May 30 with Judge Hubert Delany of the Domestic Relations Court, New York City, as the speaker.

On May 31 SPELMAN COLLEGE conferred degrees upon sixty-four young women. Dr. Walter Clinton Jackson, dean of administration of the Women's College, University of North Carolina, was the commencement speaker.

Atlanta University announces the appointment of Clayton Russell Yates, a graduate of the university in 1920, as alumni representative on the board of trustees. One of the most successful alumni in the field of business, Mr. Yates has been co-partner in the Yates and Milton drug stores for over twenty years. He is also prominent in banking circles in Atlanta.

The University trustees have voted the retirement of three faculty members: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who has been chairman of the department of sociology since 1932, and editor of *Phylon*, as professor emeritus; Dr. William Stanley Braithwaite, who has been professor of creative literature since 1935; and Miss Hattie V. Feger, professor of education.

At the fifty-sixth annual commencement held May 28-31, ST. PAUL'S POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE awarded degrees, diplomas, and certificates to seventy-three graduates. The trustee board accepted the resignation of John T. Thornton as executive president, effective May 31.

Twenty-four graduates of ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE received degrees at the seventy-seventh commencement May 24. Dr. H. Shelton Smith, professor of Christian education and director of graduate studies, Divinity School, Duke University, Durham, N. C., was the speaker.

President A. W. Dent of DILLARD UNIVERSITY announces that the University has secured three million dollars in endowment through gifts from the General Education Board, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, and the Board of Education of the Methodist Church.

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The annual commencement convocation of the seventy-eighth anniversary of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was held June 5. Rev. Howard Thurman, dean of the chapel, Howard University, was the speaker.

For the first time in its history Lincoln awarded a master of arts degree in education. The recipient was A. Leedy Campbell, who received his B. S. from Lincoln in 1941.

The summer session began June 12 and will continue through August 4. Among the added features of the 1944 summer session, reading occupies an important place. Industrial arts, home economics, and business and secretarial training are also given special emphasis. A wartime clothing course in four periods is offered by Miss Mayme L. Powell.

John Winston King, HOWARD UNIVERSITY freshman medical student, was elected by the faculty of the Chemistry Department as the recipient of the American Institute of Chemists medal and awarded associate membership in the same organization.

Young King is a native of Norfolk, Va., where he attended the Booker T. Washington High School, graduating from that institution at the age of sixteen as valedictorian of his class.

According to an announcement of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, director of the department of social sciences, FISK UNIVERSITY will hold an Institute of Race Relations July 3-21. Distinguished lecturers and consultants of both races will be on the staff.

The commencement address at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) was delivered by Major General Edward Martin, governor of Pennsylvania.

Guest lecturers and consultants from the U. S. Office of Education and the General Education Board will serve on the Workshop program of the FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE, which will begin June 12 and last through July 14.

Rev. Leon F. Kinney, pastor of Peoples Church, Cranston, R. I., was the speaker at the STORER COLLEGE commencement. The college also announces the founding of an at-

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tractive award for young women, the Viola Scott Morris Medal. Mrs. Morris was a member of the class of 1924.

To honor Paul Robeson, the State, County and Municipal Workers of America (CIO) has undertaken to provide a \$200 annual scholarship in the New York University Graduate Division for training in public service, it has been announced by Harold O. Voorhis, secretary of the University. The scholarship will be awarded each year for the next twenty years to a Negro student who is a candidate for a doctor or master's degree in the Graduate Division or, in the event no suitable graduate student shall be available, to a qualified undergraduate in

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James P. Brawley, President

the University's Washington Square College who is majoring in the field of public administration.

A workshop for Negro school librarians was held in Durham, June 9-10, under the auspices of the NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE school of library science. Thirty-third annual commencement of the College was addressed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, rabbi of the Free Synagogue of New York City.

Dr. Margaret Mead, noted anthropologist, has been elected to the board of trustees of HAMPTON INSTITUTE, the College has announced. Miss Sara Southall, personnel manager of the International Harvester Co., and Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, were also elected to the trustee board at the New York meeting.

Dr. J. M. G. Ramsey, prominent Richmond dentist and a graduate of Hampton Institute in the class of 1902, received the Hampton Institute alumni award during the seventy-fourth annual commencement exercises of the College.

A special workshop course in aviation education for elementary and high school teachers has been added to the curriculum offerings of the Institute's summer school.

Commencement exercises of KNOXVILLE COLLEGE were held May 31-June 5. Speaker was Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University.

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Founded 1910
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A Record of the Darker Races

Editor: ROY WILKINS

Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, William Allen Neilson, Walter White, Carl Murphy, John Hammond.

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COVER

Miss Priscilla Williams of Roxbury, Mass., is one of the lovely contestants in the nationwide Sepia Miss America contests. Incidentally, she sings too.

NEXT MONTH

The August issue will be the thirty-third annual education number, containing pictures, news, stories and statistics on the Negro college graduates of 1944. In "Smuts Anglo-American Plan for Control of Colonies," the well-known colonial expert George Padmore outlines what will probably happen to the former colonies of Italy and Japan. There will also be the usual *Crisis* features.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Arthur E. Burke teaches English at Hampton Institute. Miss Thyra Edwards, born and reared in Texas, has had a varied career as organizer for the International Ladies Garment workers and the miners in southern Illinois, as a worker with children's colonies in Spain during the civil war, and a guest lecturer at the Brunswick (Sweden) Workers College. She now lives in New York City. Norman D. Humphrey, co-author of *Race Riots*, is research director of the Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit and assistant professor of sociology at Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. Roscoe E. Lewis, co-author of *The Negro in Virginia* and now at work on a book of slave narratives, teaches sociology at Hampton Institute. Mrs. Elta C. Roberts lives in Abilene, Texas; and Quentin Stodola, a member of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, lives at Sonora in the same state.

Editorials

An American Texas County

OUT of Navarro county, Texas, came good news early in June. According to a news item in the reliable *Dallas Morning News*, Democratic County Chairman P. M. Gladney has advised his precinct chairmen to allow Negroes qualified as voters to participate in the party primaries. Navarro county population is 25 per cent Negro. Chairman Gladney is quoted as saying:

"We are law-abiding citizens, regardless of our personal feelings. 'Under the law we must let them vote. My advice is to treat the Negro like you would like to be treated in his place. Let him vote. It won't be an easy matter to get out of Federal Court if we deny them the vote.

"Democracy is the will of the majority and if we don't submit to majority rule, we have a poor conception of democracy. We must change our way of thinking, as the time has come when man must be considerate of other men."

So, at least one county in the Lone Star state is prepared to remain in the United States and abide by the Constitution and the interpretation of the law as handed down by the supreme court of all the people. There is no talk of revolt, there is no throwback of race hatred, no contempt, in the pronouncement of Chairman Gladney. His is a statement and a philosophy in tune with 1944, in tune with the new ideals being shaped on the battlefields of this war. If we are fighting to end dictatorships and bring freedom and self-government to the world, how can we refuse to allow American citizens to vote simply because they happen not to be white? Hats off to Chairman Gladney! May the rest of Texas follow his excellent example.

Black and White Rape

IN spite of the limitations imposed by military censorship, it is becoming clear that the American army judges the crime of rape committed by white men in a different fashion from the same crime committed by black men.

As soon as war was declared, we crossed our fingers because we had a hunch that the overseas experience of Negro troops in their inevitable contacts with foreign civilian populations would produce (in the official records) some of the same results set down during and after the last war.

Sure enough, the tip-off came early in our troop training period when a white southern lieutenant in a Negro anti-aircraft company just could not stand to see his men enjoying any courtesies extended by the white women of a certain Eastern seaboard town. He

posted a notice that any type of association with white women would be regarded as rape, and reminded his men that the penalty for rape during war time is death. This showed the trend of mind of the average white American army officer, and prophesied what Negro soldiers might expect in the way of justice in any event which might take place overseas.

Then came the infamous New Caledonia case where two Negro soldiers were sentenced to life imprisonment after they had had relations with a native prostitute who happened also to be friendly with a white lieutenant. Although the men declared they had paid her, and although the record shows she produced the money for the interrogating officers, they were convicted, and only after a formal appeal to the Board of Review were their sentences reduced to eight and ten years respectively. Meanwhile, the white officer involved was dismissed from the service.

Then came a rape case from Australia with four soldiers and a merchant seaman convicted and sentenced to be hanged for an attack upon a white American Red Cross worker who admitted she had been on a drinking party and was trying to hitch-hike to her quarters. Civilian counsel for the men, in his account of the trial, uses cautious language, but it is clear he is puzzled by the interpretation of the testimony by the white American officers who sat in the court-martial. Finally General MacArthur commuted the sentences to life imprisonment.

Then came the now-famous Corporal Henry case in England where, again, an American military court sentenced Henry to be hanged for rape on the charge of an English housewife. Here again the prisoner claimed he had paid the woman, but that whereas she had accepted one pound on two previous occasions, she demanded two pounds this particular time. This sentence so outraged the British that their newspapers dared to intrude upon what one of them called "America's delicate problem" by stating frankly their shock at the travesty on justice. The clamor became so great that it could not be concealed from the American press and the censors let some of the story through. The NAACP appealed directly to General Eisenhower. Just before we went to press word was received that Eisenhower had disapproved the sentence and Corporal Henry had been released and restored to duty.

In contrast to all this, is the case of Captain Morrison L. Wilkinson, white, who on June 13 was sentenced by a military court in Santa Ana, Calif., to thirty years at hard labor after he had been convicted of four

sex offenses, bigamy, and theft. One charge was statutory rape on a 17-year-old girl; another assault with intent to commit rape on a 16-year-old girl. Two charges of forced rape were dismissed. Wilkinson, 28, is a veteran of air combat in China. He was also convicted of marrying another woman before his divorce became final, and of stealing her wrist watch.

Here is an air force officer, a member of one of the select branches of the service, found guilty of cheap and sordid crimes, yet being sentenced to only 30 years, with a white major defending him by blaming parents and "little immoral girls!"

Negroes, on the other hand, get the minimum defense required by law, and the maximum penalty, with no allowance for anything. Rape by colored men, in the American military mind, is different from rape by white men.

Slander in the Senate

THE appropriation of \$500,000 for the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee finally passed the Senate, after its approval in the House, but not until Negro Americans had been slandered and villified as never before in official records.

First hurdle was the amendment of Senator Russell of Georgia to strike the FEPC fund from the War Agencies bill under consideration. This amendment was lost by a vote of 39-21, which meant that FEPC had a safe margin if nothing out of the ordinary occurred.

Senator Bilbo of Mississippi ranted in a rambling speech, insulting everyone on all sides, Negroes, Jews, the NAACP, A. P. Randolph, Mr. Roosevelt, Walter White, Bernard Baruch, Mayor LaGuardia, Secretary Morgenthau and others. He said white people in the District of Columbia ought to "take the law into their own hands" in dealing with Negroes who bought homes in "white" neighborhoods.

Senator McClelland of Arkansas delivered perhaps the most vicious speech, using repeatedly the term, "nigger" and at the conclusion of his diatribe he was openly congratulated by Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa. Senator Eastland of Mississippi shouted about "burr-headed niggers" giving dictation to white stenographers.

At the same time this show was being staged in the United States senate, newspapers were carrying stories and pictures of the bravery of Negro troops in the invasion of France. The hullabaloo, be it remembered, was over an appropriation for a committee to see that Negro Americans receive a fair chance at a job during and after the "war for freedom."

The ILO and Postwar Planning for the African Colonies

By Thyra Edwards

RECENTLY the metropolitan papers up and down and across the country announced the U. S. as host to the twenty-sixth session of the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia. For three weeks the daily doings of these 360 men and women, representing 41 states, were reported to a waiting if not always understanding world. For nearly ten of those twenty-one days the ILO held the front page—a record even for a murder or war.

Delegates were cabinet ministers, members of parliaments and Congress, executives of Big Business, trade union officials, rank and file workers, native Africans from Nigeria, French West Africa. They came from Egypt, India, Iraq, from China, Chile and Ecuador. Men and women arrived from the underground of Axis-occupied Norway, through submarine-infested seas, by air, through circumstances that beggar Eliza's classic trek across the ice-bound Ohio.

What brought these 360 men and women such distances through concrete dangers, and at great expense (the fare from Sweden, for example, was \$750), to a Philadelphia conference? Called, moreover, in the course of a global war when old traditions were being uprooted and the established economic patterns in the process of dislocation?

To the Russian Revolution may go indi-

What happened at the twenty-sixth session of the ILO Conference held in Philadelphia, Pa., April-May, 1944? What was the significance of the Conference? Here is a report on what happened by one of the participants

rectly considerable credit for the birth of the ILO. Unemployment and the postwar ferment of 1918-19 spread discontent. Fear that workers in other countries would follow the pattern cut by the Russian workers was world-wide. George Barnes of Great Britain and Samuel Gompers of the U. S., AF of L's head, recommended to the League of Nations international consideration of labor's problems. It was then that the ILO was organized as an international clearing house and research institute to investigate, make proposals and through its annual conference draft conventions for the protection of labor against injustice, and to improve conditions of work and wages.

Geneva, Switzerland, home of the League of Nations and the ILO, was a pleasant place in those years spanning 1919 to 1939. Besides the permanent secretariat and the

States' delegates, a coterie of faddists, cultists, and panaceas, national and international attached themselves like barnacles to a dock. They were the camp followers of peacemaking, many of them crackpots. People established themselves at Geneva in lovely old palaces or in cold attic studios, according to the amount of "unearned increment" they had coming from the family estate.

Here at the bend of Lake Leman, one might encounter anyone from the Emperor Hailie Selassie to the Premier of France. You met also their humble subjects—Ethiopians heavily cloaked, railroad workers from Santo Domingo, velvet-black seamen from Senegal, alongside of silk-hatted, frock-coated men of high finance.

Each member state had four delegates: two from government, one representing employers, one labor. This tripartite collaboration was unique with the ILO, twenty years before the current war brought labor and management together as equals in war production drives.

The ILO became an international forum where small nations pressed their grievances and were assured of getting the attention of the world. It built up and maintained the largest library in the world on social information, including reports of extensive re-



Alexander Archer

Some of the delegates to the ILO convention. Left to right: George Walker Thomson of England; Roelof Adriaan Schotman, president of the Union of Planters, Netherlands Indies; Louis Magatte, secretary general of the Union of Native Workers, French East Africa; Jamnadar Mehla, Indian Federation of Workers; Liu Hung-Sheng of the Association of Chinese Match Workers.

search. It published and distributed periodicals and reports in many languages on hours, wages, nutrition, health; provided technical experts to assist governments in framing and applying labor legislation. In twenty-five sessions the ILO Conference had adopted sixty-seven conventions or international treaties dealing with hours of work, labor of women and children, minimum wages, insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness and death, conditions of seamen, colonial labor problems.

Especially the ILO articulated the case for African colonial peoples. Wilfrid Benson, a brilliant young Englishman in the permanent secretariat of the ILO, had amassed and published carefully documented reports on conditions in the mines, the innumerable racial restrictions imposed upon the natives, problems of discriminatory taxes and wages. Based on careful research, his reports served as a directive in shaping remedial proposals to the recent Conference. It is my guess that it was his close association with the British Trade Union Congress that stimulated it to adopt a far-reaching program aimed at freeing colonial peoples from discrimination and winning for them the right of self-government.

Four of these sixty-seven conventions adopted by the ILO are designed particularly for the relief of colonial conditions: The Forced Labor Convention, 1930; Recruiting of Indigenous (Native) Workers, 1936; Employment of Indigenous Workers, 1939; Penal Sanctions, 1939.

This was the ILO which had called together at Philadelphia 360 delegates from every corner of the world. Here in the halls of Temple University were assembled not only the representatives of great powers, but also their subject peoples. These subject peoples were neither awed by the presence of officialdom, nor had they been reading Emily Post on etiquette. They were determined that their plight must be made a subject for open discussion, if nothing else. Yet they might have been automatically excluded from the Conference had it not been for the trade unions of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, the three largest colonial powers. Delegates, according to the rules of the ILO, must represent independent governing states. But the colonial peoples are not independent states. It remained for the trade unions of these three countries to get around this obstacle rather neatly. Since each delegate may be accompanied by a staff of technical experts or advisers—two for each item or committee on the agenda—these powerful unions, therefore, had included a native adviser to work with the labor representatives on the Committee on Dependent Territories—the current term for colonies.

Native Advisers Used

These native advisers utilized the Conference to such advantage, their indictment of imperialism, their detailed description of con-



Alexander Archer

The technical staff, advisors to the British workers' delegate, included a native African representative and two of the eight women in the entire conference. They are (seated): Miss Florence Hancock of the Transport Workers Union; Sir Walter Citrine, secretary general of the British Trade Union Congress; Dame Anne Loughlin of the Garment Workers Union. Standing: G. Woodcock; E. E. Esua, secretary of the Nigerian Teachers Union; George Walker Thomson of the Association of Naval Designers and Construction Workers; John Brown, secretary general of the Railway Workers.

ditions within their countries were so poignant and telling that I found myself asking: Where was the American Negro? Why had he no representatives at the Conference to detail before the forum of world opinion his disabilities: (a) the forced labor and peonage on southern chain gangs and remote plantations; (b) nutrition problems in backward agricultural sections; (c) the high rate of illiteracy and inadequate schools; (d) discrimination in job opportunities and in pay rates; (e) political limitations.

I was answered by Carter Goodrich, president of the governing body of the Conference, that the Negro was not a dependent territory, therefore he could have no individual status and spokesmen. This was true enough, though it did not explain the failure of the United States to invite any of the natives from its own colonial possessions—the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, for example; nor the complete silence by our delegates, government, employer and labor, on the problems in these territories. (We did not hesitate, however, to participate in the discussions on the problems of the colonies of other nations.) It did not explain why the A F of L, labor's spokesman at the Conference, had not included—as some of the other labor delegations had—a Negro among its advisers.

I raised this question with Robert Watt,

the A F of L delegate.

"No union," he explained, "had recommended anyone as an expert to advise on any of the items on the agenda."

Ashley Totten of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (A F of L) is perhaps the best informed man in the United States on affairs and conditions in the Virgin Islands and would certainly have had something to contribute. There are brilliantly qualified Puerto Rican trade unionists and economists in New York's Spanish Harlem.

Attitude of AF of L

Was the top leadership in the AF of L indifferent to questions involving colonies and racial minorities? (Racial minorities is hardly the term for a group which constitutes one and a half billion, 75 percent of the world's human population.)

"Perhaps," said Mr. Watt, "Negro leadership and the Negro press direct emphasis to our points of disagreement and differences when the times demand a shift to cooperation in the broad field of our common needs—specifically employment, housing, insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age and death. "That," he pointed out, "is the strategy by which Negro experts can be integrated into the various committees that comprise the International Labor Conference.

And that is a strategy with which I stand ready to cooperate."

Mr. Watt's position has validity. It does not, however, relieve the AF of L of responsibility in activating minority peoples for the building of a better world. It does not justify the omission of Negro, Indian, Puerto Rican, Filipino, the Virgin Islander from the deliberations of an international organization created to bring world consideration to the problems the world knows they suffer.

There is a clear implication, however, that the leadership of these peoples is equally remiss. The American Negro boasts a powerful press, broad organizations and membership in the organized labor movement—both wings of it—running into tens of thousands. Yet the Negro press, with the exception of Carter Wesley's chain of Texas papers, made only superficial note of it. Negro organizations, so far as recorded, ignored it completely, unless one excepts a letter from Paul Robeson as chairman of the Council on African Affairs in behalf of the African colonial peoples, and an engraved invitation from the African Methodist Episcopal Conference in session at Philadelphia at the same time, asking the ILO delegates to hear Mrs. Roosevelt's address to them.

What did those dark peoples who were there accomplish through the Conference?

The technique of bringing general conditions to world attention was effectively used by Jammadas Mehta, workers' delegate from India. The ILO has no machinery for enforcement. This has been emphasized as a source of ineffectiveness. Many progressive conventions are adopted but never applied. Mr. Mehta proposed a system of inspectorates responsible to and directed by the ILO. In making the proposal he called attention to a century of British rule "against the interests of the Indian people."

"There are 400,000,000 Indian people," he concretized, "indentured labor, exploited, expropriated, living in conditions of slavery, poverty and disease." Then: "Ninety percent of the Indian people have only poisonous water to drink"—another concrete picture.

The proposal was lost, as he expected it would be. But he had defined and implanted an outline of the scope and degradation of British imperialism: 400,000,000 Indians . . . drinking poisonous water . . . starving . . . dying of typhus.

He had advanced a remedial policy which will be talked about, discussed and remembered when at the next conference he undoubtedly presses for it again. Many of the same men who listened to his indictment will be representing their governments at the peace table.

Native Spokesman

The 22,000,000 natives of Nigeria, 96 percent illiterate, had an energetic spokesman in E. E. Esua, General Secretary of the Nigerian Union of Teachers since 1933 and former headmaster (principal) of the Baptist Acad-

emy at Lagos. Mr. Esua is a handsome black man with the gift of pleasantly stating unpleasant truths. He participated in the Conference as a member of the staff of technical experts, advisers to the British workers' delegate.

Between sessions of the Conference in the great lounge of Mitten Hall, he talked quietly to me about the theme still occupying the major part of his life, education of the natives.

"The British have done nothing, practically nothing for native education," he said. He talks rapidly, briskly, the words cutting into each other. When he refers to figures he checks them carefully in the numerous documents tucked into his coat pockets.

"Eighty-six percent of the educational institutions in Nigeria are church and mission schools. There are no free schools as we know them in the United States. Pupils must pay for tuition even in the elementary schools.

"And even for those who can afford to pay there are not schools enough. Where 1200 apply, only 30 can be enrolled. The Russians have set an example in their contribution to mass education," he went on. "Twenty-five years ago they stood approximately where we are, with ninety percent illiterate. But in twenty-five years they have reversed the figures and are ninety percent literate."

It is the work of the British Trade Union Congress in Africa that has enabled natives of colonies to participate in ILO deliberations. He stated this to me and he stated it in the Committee. Without native participation, he said, the Conference would be like a man studying the camel in a library. At least by including native participation you have advanced to the perception of the man who studies the camel in the Zoo. Ultimately the Conference may study these problems in their natural setting, in the colonies themselves.

Outstanding Leader

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Federation of Labor, an earnest, slight, brown man from Mexico, became one of the outstanding leaders at the Conference not alone because of his insistence that the delegates of Argentina, fascist collaborator with the German enemy, be unseated. He became the black man's representative without portfolio, pushing for progressive legislation, for unity of all labor—black, white, North and South American without distinction, and proposed that countries without labor representation should lose their vote in the ILO, a proposal designed to bring relief to the illiterate, unorganized workers of Haiti and Liberia.

Louis Magatte, Secretary of the National Federation of Trade Unions of Native Workers of French West Africa, speaking before the Committee on Dependent Territories with quiet dignity of how the French Liberation Committee had initiated reforms for the ad-

vancement of its colonies even before the Atlantic Charter, had given the press and those in the visitors' galleries a new concept of the black African, for whom he had always been a wild, tattooed primitive in loin cloth.

Outlines of Postwar World

What then were the outlines of the postwar world which took form in the three weeks of deliberation in Philadelphia? For here were discussed the problems that will face us during the coming decades: guarantees of permanent employment, transition from war to peace, income security, minimum standards for dependent territories—guarantees of peace. Moreover, they were being discussed by many of the same leaders who will shape the world's future at the peace table.

Certain patterns of thinking, of direction, and of deed clearly could be identified. As they pertain to the colonial peoples:

First, the French Provisional Government of de Gaulle has already initiated a program of extended education, health services and agricultural development in its colonial possessions.

Second, the Netherlands has begun directing its colonial possessions to self-government within the framework of a Netherlands Commonwealth of States.

Third, the British Trade Union Congress is openly critical of British colonial administration and now maintains trade union committees in African colonies to assist the natives in organizing trade unions for collective bargaining, to win self-government, and to educate and prepare native Africans for anticipated responsibilities.

Fourth, the postwar world will have to accept economic and social planning as a basic fact. This planning recognizes that men will no longer tolerate unemployment and that governments, not private industry, must be held responsible for continuous employment of citizens able to work.

Fifth, that colonial exploitation has failed even the exploiter, and in the future world colonial people must be developed to the recognized standards of modern men.

Sixth, organized labor through its trade unions is recognized and provision is to be made for its continued and increasing operation in the planning and administration of this postwar world. The elder brother relation of the French, British and Netherlands trade unionists to their native co-advisers, a relationship untinged by condescension or paternalism, shows the reality of this. In the case of France and the Netherlands, where employers, employees and government are working in close harmony to develop and advance their colonies in the very moment of war, the reality points to the definite possibility, that out of the blood and tragedy new conceptions of social responsibility and equality are being burnt deeply into the souls of men.

There is, of course, another side of the
(Continued on page 233)

LOVELY LASSIES IN THE SEPIA MISS AMERICA CONTEST



Sepia Miss America

The five gorgeous lassies at the top (left to right) are Priscilla Williams, Chirlaine J. Dupree, who has already won a dramatic scholarship to Hollywood's leading workshop for the screen, Eleanor Talbot, Gloria Soares, and Dorothy Bruce, contestants from Greater Boston, Mass. Bottom (left to right): Dorothy Bruce, Chirlaine J. Dupree, and Eleanor Talbot. The Sepia Miss America Committee of Boston, Mass., has launched plans for a nationwide series of contests to select the outstanding Negro beauty in the country and crown her Miss Sepia America. The contest will continue through the fall.

Miracle in Flatbush

By Quentin Stodola

WELL, Barton had the statue of Mary and the kid Jesus taken down from in front of the church so I suppose he thinks it's the end of the story.

Our church is about the ritziest in Flatbush. So you can figure out how surprised I was when this colored girl sat down beside me.

I was about half way up in front at the service so there were certainly plenty of people behind me to see her. And were they staring!

Why did she ever come to this church? There must be some church around here some place for colored people. There'd never been a colored person in our church before.

As colored people go she didn't look so bad. She was young, about 25 or so. She was dressed in a grey-suit kind of dress. And she had the very dignified "I have been to college" look that some of them have.

She must be darned uncomfortable having blundered in this way. When you get to be as old as I, you don't care so much what other people think. She'd never come back anyway. So when it came time to sing the opening hymn, I found the place for her and gave her my hymn book. She said, "Thank you," in a low voice.

I had a darn good idea what the people behind me were whispering about. I had to laugh at Mr. Barton, the first vestryman who was ushering. He was standing in the back of the church, feet apart, his arms folded just looking snake eyes at the girl. It was a good thing she couldn't see him back there. He was looking at her the way some people would look at a toad.

When the service was over, I said to her, "I hope you liked the service." And she agreed very politely, "Yes, it was fine."

When the colored girl passed by Barton, he said, "Humph" very loudly. To give our minister credit he shook hands with her at the door and smiled. But he didn't give her the old story about how he hadn't seen her at church before, and how he hoped she'd come back again.

Well, she wouldn't come back again. She must have a good idea of what people thought of Negroes in that church.

I stopped outside and looked at the white statue in front of the church, the one of Mary standing with her arm on the shoulder of the boy Christ. Yeh, you're a white statue in front of a white church for white people.

Next Sunday I had a hunch that old Barton would make some crack to me about speaking to the Negro girl. But he pretended

She merely wanted to go to church, but it happened to be a white church where she was not wanted. The story of a twentieth-century miracle unwittingly wrought by a worshipful colored girl

he didn't even see me. Ever since he found out that I voted for Roosevelt he didn't think I was quite right in the head, or even maybe I was one of those damn radicals.

I took my favorite seat half way down the aisle. I usually came early so I could get it. The processional hymn began. When it was over the late comers walked down the aisle to their seats.

I was kneeling down in prayer at the beginning of the service when someone knelt next to me. I hardly noticed who it was at first. It was the colored girl.

I said hello to her and helped her to find the place in the prayer book. Why in the devil had she come back again. Didn't she know that she wasn't wanted here?

Barton was glaring more than before. The corners of his mouth were turned down and one side of his face kept twitching. A Negro in their church.

Barton cornered me afterwards. "Do you know that woman?" "What woman?"

"That black woman who sat next to you the last two Sundays. You talked to her."

Then I had to explain to him that I had never seen her before in my life, and that she was just as much a mystery to me as to him.

He was very mad. "She can't come to this church. If you let one in, pretty soon there's two. And pretty soon the whole God damned church is filled with black niggers. I tell you we've got to protect our rights. They're got their own churches if they want to go to church. Look what happened to Bushwick. There weren't any niggers there once. Now look, the whole place is full of them. The time to stop it is in the beginning. There weren't any Jews in Flatbush once. Now the place is dirty with them. We should have passed laws like out in some places in Long Island keeping them out. And now the niggers are trying to edge their way in."

"Well," I told him, "I guess you're right. But I wonder whether we ought to turn anyone away from church."

"Aw baloney!" he said. "You haven't got

a daughter. I have. And I don't want her associating with a nigger girl. The next thing you know it'll be a black nigger boy."

There wasn't much use arguing with anyone like Barton. So I just said I guessed she wouldn't come back anyway.

But when next Sunday came I had a feeling she would be there and she was, right in the same seat she'd been the other two times. During the service I didn't think much about the singing, the prayers or the sermon. I just kept thinking about the look in Barton's eyes.

I walked out behind the girl after the service. Barton was standing there waiting. He was going to save the white people of Flatbush.

He called her over a little to the side, out of the line of people that were going out. Everyone was staring at her and at the same time trying to pretend they weren't. I hung back to see what Barton would say.

"I think we'd better straighten out a thing or two. Don't you think you'd be better off going to a church of your own kind. I think you know what I mean."

The girl was kind of taken back and upset when Barton began to talk this way. Her lips began to tremble. But she lifted up her head with a little jerk and said, "I like it here."

"So do I. If you keep coming here nobody else will. Don't make a fool of yourself."

"Look Mister, I went to college with white girls. My folks here have money. My father's a doctor. At first it's hard being with white people because they make it hard for you. But they get used to you after awhile. It's the only way we colored people are going to get ahead, it's to make white people treat us like equals."

Almost everyone was out of the church by now. But there were still a few like myself taking everything in.

"I'm not arguing with you. Just don't try to come back here."

"Who's going to stop me?"

"It'll be damned unpleasant for you if you do."

"I'm used to that."

"Now look here, you black nigger, just stay the hell out of here."

"Don't talk to me that way. Mr. Lincoln freed the slaves a long time ago."

"You're lucky you're a woman even if you are black."

"A fine Christian gentleman," she said and walked out. She held her head as high as she could but it looked like there were

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What One White Woman Did

By Elta C. Roberts

QUITE by accident I became interested in the progress of the Negro race. I am white. I was born in Texas and have lived here all of my life. I do not think I had ever been unkind to a Negro. I had certainly not felt unkindly toward the race. I had never given the subject a thought. I simply assumed the Negro had little ambition and was happy in his present situation.

Strange as it may seem, a native of Nigeria, West Africa, was the first person to bring me the realization that the Negro has the same hopes and plans and ambitions that other people have. One day, in an idle moment, I ran across a letter in a magazine from a native of Nigeria. He lived in a village where there was little recreation. He could read English and wished for old magazines and books. I recognized his letter as a very fine one. Reading happens to be one of my greatest pleasures and that letter made its instant appeal to me. For five years I have sent my African friend a book every month and subscriptions to a few magazines. I have marvelled at that man's intelligence and ambition. He had not seen an alphabet until he was ten years old when the opportunity came to him to go to a mission school for six years. The average college graduate in our country does not possess his gift for language. He uses exactly the right word in the right place. Nor do I have a friend who is better acquainted with current world events than that man in that far-away spot in Africa. This native African, so ambitious for the education of his two little daughters, created a new respect and appreciation in my mind for the race as a whole.

Background of Interest

This pleasant experience paved the way for broader interest and concern in the progress of the Negro. Two years ago I notice an "ad" in a good literary magazine from an educated Negro, requesting letters from persons interested in better racial relations. Had it not been for the education my Nigerian friend had given me I would have passed it by without a thought. This New York man was thoroughly acquainted with the best books written by and about the Negro. I would judge myself to be an average citizen. I graduated from a small college. I have worked with the public all my life. Yet I had never before heard of a Negro magazine. Nor had I ever read a Negro book except Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*,

Professional racial goodwillers often overlook the rich spade work for better racial amity done by the average intelligent citizen who resolves to do something about an intolerable situation. What this woman has done might seem insignificant, but when millions of others catch her spirit conditions will improve

written more than thirty years ago. This American colored man kindly tells me what to read and occasionally sends me literature. I am greatly indebted to him. During the last two years I have read more than twenty-five books on the progress of the race, as well as a number of magazines. This reading has opened up a new world to me. It was almost like traveling in a foreign country to learn the fascinating history of the Negro Jew in our country, with one church of 5,700 members, and the romantic story of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, actually organized by a small group of native Ethiopians a hundred years ago, and still in existence with a membership of 14,000 people.

Action Replaced Talk

Until a few months ago I contented myself with reading and talking about the future of the race. Recently a New York woman ended our conversation by saying that we talked and talked and talked and then did nothing. I felt rebuked. That was exactly what I had been doing. I thought there was nothing I could do. I resolved to do whatever came my way. These are the few little things I have done in the last three months: I passed on to friends all good Negro literature that came into my hands. When a Negro approached the elevator where I work I invited the Negro to ride up or down at the same time. I suggested to a good magazine that it give us a condensation of some fine Negro book. I requested a picture show to bring us the new picture, "The Negro Soldier." I wrote the former Attorney General of my state asking him not to oppose the Negro vote (before the Supreme Court decision). I asked the mayor of our town to give some responsible position to some capable Negro. I asked the superintendent of our city schools to pay our colored teach-

ers the same salaries our white teachers received for the same kind of work and with the same qualifications and experience. I made the same request of the president of our school board. I asked two state legislators to do what they could to equalize teachers' salaries in our state. I expressed the same desire to our State Superintendent of Education.

I started a shelf of books on Negro life and literature at Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Texas (a Baptist white school) in memory of my sister, Willie Beatrice Campbell, who graduated at this college some years ago. It is only a modest collection so far. Within the last seven weeks I have given the school about twenty-five books written by Negroes or about the Negro. I hope to contribute at least one book a month hereafter. I also subscribed for a few excellent Negro magazines for this library.

Some of my friends thought I would accomplish more by giving these books to the colored school in my town. I seriously considered that idea. Our colored school does need books. But I reached the conclusion that the fate of the Negro in large measure rests with the whites because the whites are in the big majority. I did not feel able to start two projects at the same time. Consequently I decided in favor of the shelf of books for the white college. I know a few of the college teachers are reading these books and one woman's club has asked me to give a program on the progress of the Negro.

Organized Book Club

The colored school was still in my mind. Negroes do not have the use of our public library. I suggested to one of the teachers of our Negro school that she organize a book club of a dozen members. I gave her a list of twelve books written by Negroes or about the Negro which I had enjoyed during the past year. Each member would buy one book and she would pass on to her nearest club member a book on the first day of each month, regardless of whether or not she had finished reading it. At the end of the year each person would have had the opportunity to read twelve good books at the cost of one. I thought it would be nice for the club to then donate the books to the colored school but each member could decide for herself whether she wished to do that or keep her book for her own home. This colored teacher

(Continued on page 233)

The Growing Crisis in American Caste

By Norman Daymond Humphrey

THE race riots of the last year may be explained quite simply. They were one manifestation of the breakdown of the American Caste System. The formula, too, is simple. When the class struggle momentarily is bottled up, the cork pops out of the fermenting cask of caste. Or to put it in other fashion, the social channeling of what is often called "the class struggle" has been slowed down and diverted momentarily, and in its place the "caste struggle" between Negroes and whites is quickened and intensified. What passes for a "race problem" in this country is actually a problem of caste relations, and "race riots" are simply manifestations of the ferment occasioned by the breakdown of extant caste lines.

Unlike the reception afforded public manifestations of class consciousness, caste consciousness is popularly approved. Some employers, tongues in cheeks, condone it. Employees, given sanction for the expression of pent up hostility, glory in the implicit approval given expressions of hatred. The newspapers voice puerile criticism through polite editorials condemning "race prejudice." This social maelstrom cannot be calmed simply by appeals to intellectual tolerance. If "racial" hostility can be controlled at all, it must first be understood. And resort to the concept of "race prejudice" as a first step in understanding can lead only to misunderstanding.

"Race prejudice" is ordinarily explained on a biological level by the laymen and as a direct function of morphological differences which are considered as quickly perceived and consequently abhorred. Such an explanation is obviously naive, for theoretically physical difference may be viewed as attractive almost as easily as repellent. Biological features would appear to afford relatively identifiable traits which form means to which prejudice can be attached, once prejudice itself has been developed. But the *relative* character of ease in identification should be emphasized. This relativity is clear when one considers the fact that even the physical anthropologist's concept of race varies with the anthropologist.

Race a Fiction

Actually race in a biologic sense is a fiction, assumed once to have existed in reality (concretely) for small, isolated, inbred groups. A human race, or sub-race is taxonomically thus equivalent to the geographic races or varieties of other mammalian species. There are different races (varieties)

When the Negro begins to escape from his caste position, his improved status is regarded by whites as a direct attack upon the system and a threat to their economic security. The results are increasing racial tension and sometimes race riots

of squirrels, within the same species, on the north and south rims of the Grand Canyon. But there are not different races of men (in the same distinctive meaning) on the north and south shores of the Mediterranean.

As for innate psychological differences between morphologically distinctive types, if they do exist, they like "instincts" are so overlain with culture as not to be significant in determining behavior. (I certainly would not have wanted to be an "armenoid type" of circumised Christian Syrian, who spoke only Arabic, in Berlin in 1933). Discernible biological differences between groups may allow definitions of a prejudicial sort to be attached to them, and thus may intensify bias but they do not themselves generate it. That which is more clearly instrumental than biological difference in generating and sustaining "race prejudice" is the phenomenon of cultural dissimilarity.

One fact stands out in the wide variety of cultural differences to which "race" prejudice attaches, namely, that culturally molded differences in behavior are looked upon *not as cultural differences* but as functions of the germ plasm, and thus as innate and unchangeable. If one were to exclude from consideration the obvious error predicated in confusing biology and culture, one could still raise the question as to which cultural factor, or congeries of factors, was actually basic to "race" prejudice. Religious difference, for example, historically has aided in generating conflict between ethnic groups, especially when each group felt that the True God was on its side. But in every case the religious element was seen in historical perspective to have been the apparent rather than the fundamental reason for conflict.

As a matter of fact it is the underlying economic conflict of interests which ordinarily, if not always, manifests itself in disguised forms as "race" conflict and prejudice. This fact can be exemplified by consideration of the condition of the Negro in the United States and in Brazil. In Brazil the Negro

(as a biological entity) is not only the "legal" equal of the white, but he has formal possibilities for advancement actually open to him. In the United States, by way of contrast, such possibilities are only nominally open, and in some instances are legally closed. The point of difference lies in the fact that the system in the United States is basically one of caste; in Brazil, it is a system of class. If one is a poor mulatto in Brazil he is a Black, as he is in the United States; if he is a rich Brazilian *mulato* he is *branco*, whereas a rich American mulatto ordinarily is a "damned nigger", i.e., he is still a member of a caste. Race prejudice is relatively absent in the one case because of the meagerly developed industry and because economic conflict has been emphasized into class rather than into caste directions.

Race Conflict Economic

It is obviously to the immediate (if not to the ultimate) benefit of white Americans to brand the Negro as an inferior, to keep him in the position of subordination, and to allow him only to do the hard, manual work necessary to the production of wealth; in short, to keep him in his "rightful place." It is also to some extent in the interest of the preservation of the economic system that the conflicts generated and sustained by the distribution of the fruits of production be grooved into another direction than that of straight-forward attack on the private-property-legal complex by which it is justified and sanctioned. Thus if employees can have their antagonistic sentiments expressed against each other, they will by that much less have them directed against the system itself. And all whites are led to feel a stake in this racial exploitation. I do not mean to imply that this is a purely conscious or logically derived conception. It is encumbered by all of the cultural appurtenances one can conjure. But this is the way in which the system of "racial" exploitation actually functions. And since it functions in this way it is perpetuated, with occasional sops thrown out to obscure its real nature in the form of educational opportunities, Rosenwald grants, and the like. This system is present both in the United States and in Brazil, but its particular and generic form varies in either place.

Economic conflict must be directed in such fashion as not really to disturb the very system which generates it. When the system is in a period of severe crisis, a scapegoat either emerges in crescive fashion or is con-

sciously and purposely developed. The Jew as a scapegoat in Germany is a case in point. The pre-Nazi situation of the Jew in Germany was equivalent (in a more developed form) to the condition of the Brazilian Negro today. Jews individually had escaped from the caste, and so many had freed themselves that the caste itself was largely dissolved. But with the growing economic and political crisis in Germany the Jew became the most obvious and appropriate scapegoat. The vortex arising from conflict expressed itself by encompassing the Jew.

Whites Negro Conscious

The white population of the United States is today more conscious of the Negro than it has been for the last several decades. Negroes, we are told, are more aggressive and insolent than they have ever been. The Negro press is "inflammatory." Negroes are getting better factory jobs and whites are accordingly potentially excluded from them. It cannot be denied that there is a generally more "aggressive" tendency on the part of the Negroes today than there has been for some time. The Negro press, and Negro leadership generally has sensed, and followed, the upsurge of sentiment among the Negro masses against segregation and toward social equality. But the character of social process has not been well understood by liberal observers or has been conceptualized only partially.

The process is actually one of an attempt by the Negro to destroy, and by a large segment of the whites to preserve, the veritable fact of "racial" castes in the United States. Those whites who contend that the Negro "must know his place and keep it," not unclearly realize that the proper "place" of the Negro is that of an inferior caste. It is "degrading," they say, to live or work with Negroes. In substance, one loses caste by so doing. The enlightened Negro feels quite correctly that a caste society is inimical to legally defined democratic rights, and that it is altogether hostile to a functioning democracy.

The benefits of a caste system for members of the upper caste are clear enough. Caste definitions provide a basis for feelings of adequacy and worthwhileness requisite to emotional economy security. In a diversified society recognition of adequacy in work and through achievement is possible on a broad scale only for a fortunate few. Hence the least common denominator of superiority, upper caste membership, is invoked and utilized as the instrument for achieving such security.

Social Whirlpool

The Negro, whether we like it or not, is on the edge of the social whirlpool. This fact is not wholly to be explained in terms of the rationalizations for hatred now being

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

DINNER IN HONOR OF WALTER WHITE: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Wendell L. Willkie, and President Mordecai W. Johnson of Howard University joined with more than 750 guests of all parties and faiths paid tribute May 25 to Walter White, the militant secretary of the NAACP, in the Hotel Roosevelt. This dinner celebrated Mr. White's twenty-five years of distinguished work with the Association and was a recognition of his service to his country in the cause of freedom and justice.

Among the two-minute speeches honoring Mr. White were those by Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Mt. Olivet Baptist church, New York; Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP; Jean Muir, film actress; Dr. Channing Tobias, of the National Board YMCA; Arthur Garfield Hays, famous civil liberties lawyer; Carl Van Vechten, author; Judge William H. Hastie; Dr. James J. McClendon, president of the Detroit, Michigan, NAACP; and Roy Wilkins, editor of *The Crisis*.

Formal tribute to Secretary White was contained in a leather-bound gold-stamped book of personal expressions from three hundred nationally and internationally known personalities. Among these were Louis Adamic, Dr. and Mrs. Ernest Alexander, William T. Andrews, Roger N. Baldwin, Joan Bennett, Attorney General Francis Biddle, Richmond Barthé, Charles A. Beard, Pearl Buck, Cab Calloway, Marc Connelly, Countee Cullen, Senator Bennett Champ Clark, Walter Davenport, Judge Hubert T. Delany, David Dubinsky, Albert Einstein, James A. Farley, Mr. Justice Frankfurter, Bishop J. A. Gregg, William C. Handy, J. Edgar Hoover, Charles H. Houston, Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, Ira F. Lewis, Joe Louis, Canada Lee, Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce, Oswald Garrison Villard, Wendell L. Willkie, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Louis T. Wright.

Wendell L. Willkie praised the militant secretary as "a soldier unafraid in the fight for justice." The Republican presidential candidate in 1940 declared: "Every time someone baits a Negro in America, he lessens the ability of America to lead the world in the fight for freedom."

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt opened her remarks by saying she brought greetings from "my husband," and then congratulated Mr. White for his refusal to say "die" in the face of discouraging opposition. Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson made the principal address of the evening, reviewing the work of the NAACP, under Walter White's leadership, to secure full citizenship rights of Negro Americans. He painted a gloomy picture of the future unless segregation and discrimination are eliminated, and the Negro given freely the right to vote, saying the "forces of

fascism" are ready to take over.

In his response, Mr. White used the occasion to emphasize the importance of a solution of the Negro problem to the welfare of the United States and its world leadership, and scored the villification of the Negro in the halls of Congress at the very time Negro soldiers are dying "so that we can still have a Congress." A total of \$20,453 was contributed or pledged to a fund to help finance the work of the NAACP, and Mr. Wendell Willkie contributed \$5,000 from the Wendell L. Willkie Trust Fund, established from the sales of his book *One World*.

BOILERMAKER SUIT IN RHODE ISLAND GOES ON: Negro workers at the Walsh-Kaiser shipyards in Providence, R. I., rested their case May 29 against the jim crow auxiliary of the Boilermakers union. The international union was scheduled to present its case beginning June 5. The legal action now under way seeks to make permanent the temporary injunction issued last January by Judge Alexander Churchill of Superior Court, Providence, restraining the Boilermakers union from restricting Negro workers to an auxiliary union. Judge Churchill held that auxiliaries are not legal in Rhode Island.

In the testimony so far before Judge Patrick P. Curran, officials of Local 308 declared it was a representative of the international union, and not local men, who threw out the votes of Negro members in the election last December. Previous testimony has indicated that some Negroes in Providence were members of Local 308.

Counsel for the union made two motions May 31, one to require the Negro complainants to state whether they desired relief as to the union election of last December, or as to the broad question of jim crow auxiliary unions. The other motion was to have the complaint dismissed as to those Negro complainants who now hold regular Local 308 cards. Judge Curran withheld ruling on both motions pending the conclusion of the case. Thurgood Marshall and Joseph LeCount are representing the Negro workers.

REHEARING ASKED IN LYNN CASE: A rehearing will be asked of the United States Supreme Court by attorneys for Winfred Lynn, whose application for a writ of certiorari was refused by the Court May 29.

Lynn is seeking to test the quota system by which Negroes are being inducted into the armed services. His attorneys charge that the no-discrimination provision of the Selective Service Act is being violated. In denying the writ the Supreme Court fell back upon the technicality that the question has become "moot" because Lynn is no longer in the custody of the respondent (that is, one who answers in certain suits or proceedings)

Col. John W. Downer, commanding officer at Camp Upton.

Attorneys who filed a brief amicus curiae, point out that the reason offered by the Court is hardly intelligible, for, strictly speaking, Lynn was not in the custody of Col. Downer even before the case was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals. It is further pointed out that this question was not raised by the government in the lower court, and was merely suggested, but not urged, by the Solicitor General in his brief filed with the Supreme Court. It is also pointed out that if the reason offered by the Court should be given any weight, it will always be possible for the government to defeat the jurisdiction of the courts by simply transferring the petitioner from one camp to another, and thus taking him out of the custody of the commanding officer, who will be the respondent in the first instance.

ASK REVIEW OF SOLDIER'S DEATH SENTENCE: On June 3, the NAACP cabled General Eisenhower requesting a stay of execution and opportunity to review the court-martial record in the case of an American soldier sentenced to death in England on a charge of rape.

The case has attracted unusual attention in England and the London *Daily Mirror* on June 2 carried an article stating that it had received a number of letters on the case which "reveal a widespread feeling of uneasiness at this man having to pay the extreme penalty. Popular sentiment could be much appeased if justice would, in suitable cases, be tempered with mercy, and not least in cases where colored men are the offenders."

History of the case is as follows. A colored soldier knocked on the door of a cottage in Bath late one night and a woman leaned out the window and exchanged a few words with him. He was asking his way to the Bristol railway station. The woman said she gave him the directions from her bedroom window. The soldier asked her to write out the directions so she came downstairs, opened the door and admitted him. Agreeing to accompany him in the direction of the station, she went back to her bedroom and put on knickers and an overcoat and told her husband that she was going to show a soldier the way to the station. Her husband agreed to this. After she had walked with the soldier in the direction of the station, she told him she had to return home and he offered to walk with her back toward the house. On the way back, she claims that the soldier drew a knife on her, threatened to kill her if she screamed, and then attacked her.

WINNING TEAM, WASHINGTON, D. C., BRANCH



The winning team in the Washington, D. C., membership campaign. Reading left to right (front row): Miss Therell Smith, Miss Louise Phillips, Mrs. Theodora Daniel, Mrs. Selena Welch, Mrs. Mayme Thompson, Mrs. Knoxie Rich, Mrs. Carlotta Lingo; second row: William Brown, Mrs. Lenora Johnson, Mrs. Celestine Carter, Mrs. Celestine Tibbs, Rev. Arthur D. Gray, Mrs. Elsie Wiggins, James Taylor, Mrs. Gladys Edmonson; back row: J. H. Prater, Henry Watson, Charles McCloud, Mrs. Isabelle McCloud, Philip Clark, John Osborne.

His story, on the other hand, is that he knew the woman very well and had made a date with her between 8:30 and 9:00. Unable to see him then she asked him to call back later, which he did. He went out with her to a field where they had been a couple of times before and she asked him for two pounds (\$9.60), but since he had only a little over one pound (\$4.80), he gave it to her.

She is reported to have then walked off with the remark: "I will get you into trouble."

Defense counsel at the courts-martial concluded: "This story by the woman is rather incredible. She gets out of bed in the middle of the night, leaves her husband in bed, then leaves home and walks off with a strange colored soldier to show him the way into town. It was not necessary for her to have gone at all. The doctor's testimony shows that no force was used by the man and the woman, according to her story, offered no resistance."

The case has aroused great public indignation in England. The English are revolted by the death penalty in the face of such "reasonable doubt" as to the actual crime of rape. One reader of the London *Daily Mirror* wrote: "If he is good enough to fight for us, then he is good enough for a square deal."

JAMES CAREY SPEAKER AT NAACP CONFERENCE: James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, will address the NAACP War-time Conference in Chicago, Ill., on the opening night, July 12, on the subject "The Stake of the Negro and Organized Labor in the November Elections." The keynote address of the conference will be delivered by Judge Hubert T. Delany, members of the NAACP board of directors, of New York City. The conference, which will open July 12 and close Sunday afternoon, July 16, will be held in the Metropolitan Community Center, 41st Street and South Parkway.

DEWEY APPOINTS LILY WHITE UNIONIST

to STATE FEPC: Governor Thomas E. Dewey's naming of Frank S. Columbus, chairman of the legislative board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, as a member of the new commission to study race discrimination, particularly in employment, has been scored by the NAACP in a letter to the governor. Columbus' union bars Negroes from membership by a constitutional clause which declares members must be "white born."

"We are at a loss to understand," says the letter, "why Mr. Columbus can be expected by you or by the Negro citizens of New York state to render sincere service on this commission since he is an executive of a union which excludes Negroes, Mexicans, Indians, and Spanish-Americans from membership."

The appointment of Frank L. Weil, one of the top directors in the USO who was "active in barring the pamphlet *Races of Man-kind* from USO centers throughout the

NEWARK, OHIO, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



William E. J. West

Members of the executive committee of the Newark, Ohio, branch celebrating the end of their membership campaign with a banquet.

United States," was also scored. "If Mr. Weil," says the letter, cannot subscribe to the scientific truths in this pamphlet, the question arises as to how he can make fair and unbiased judgment on discrimination against citizens of New York state on account of race, creed or color."

BIDDLE GETS AFFIDAVITS IN ALABAMA VOTE BAN: Affidavits of seven persons who were denied the right to vote in the regular Democratic primary elections in Mobile, Alabama, May 2, have been presented to Attorney General Francis Biddle by Thurgood Marshall. The affidavits were made by Napoleon Rivers, Raymond H. Perry, Taylor Burroughs, Dr. John R. Taylor, Albert B. Davis, James G. Battle, and Bennie D. Nelson.

"In view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Smith vs. Allwright*," Marshall wrote, "we request prosecution of the officers involved, including Deputy Sheriff Frank Pryor and Under Sheriff William H. Holcombe for violation of Section 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code.

"On April 3, 1944, we requested you to instruct all United States attorneys as to the implications of the decision in the case of *Smith vs. Allwright*. We also requested you to communicate this opinion to all officers of the Democratic party in states which had pre-

viously prevented Negroes from voting in primary elections. Since that time, Negroes have been denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary elections in Alabama and Florida. The chairman of the Democratic party in Georgia has advised all local officials to refuse to accept the ballots of qualified Negro electors in the Georgia primary."

Declaring that the responsibility for the enforcement of the Supreme Court opinion "rests squarely in the Department of Justice," Marshall asserted:

"Unless affirmative action is taken by the Department of Justice, the decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Smith vs. Allwright* will be ignored throughout the areas of this country which have previously denied Negroes the right to vote."

Branch News

CALIFORNIA: The May meeting of the Santa Clara branch was addressed by the columnist and correspondent, L. Bayard Whitney. He spoke on the Negro in the postwar world. Local plans for the national membership drive were headed up by Rev. Theodore P. Headen.

CONNECTICUT: At the Bridgeport-Stratford branch meeting in May a panel of seven speakers discussed the subject of "Union and The Colored Worker." Taking part on the panel were representatives from the unions at General Electric, Bridgeport Brass, Aluminum Co., Chance Vought, and Remington Arms, as well as Edward C. O'Brien, Jr., president of the CIO council and John Allen, business agent of the Teamsters union, AFL.

The following members of the branch attended the testimonial dinner given in New York to Walker White: Miss Gladys Harper, Mrs. Marion Stewart, Miss Mary H. Thornton, Marmon Smith, 1st Lt. Susie Freeman, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Freeman, and Mr. and Mrs. John W. Lancaster, Jr.

The Norwalk branch sponsored a spring fashion show and dance in May. Part of the proceeds of the affair were donated to the Carver Foundation.

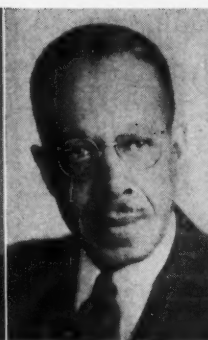
About 200 persons attended the annual musical of the Waterbury branch at the Pearl Street Neighborhood house. Mrs. Muriel Bacote was chairman of the committee in charge.

Dr. Eleanor Hope Johnson was guest speaker at the regular monthly meeting of the Hartford branch.

PICTURES OF SOME OF OUR BRANCH PRESIDENTS



M. F. Fields
Waterloo, Iowa



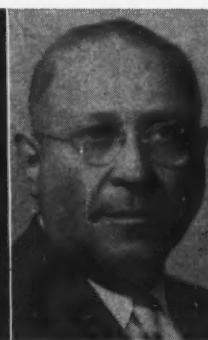
Dr. J. T. Parham
New Bedford, Mass.



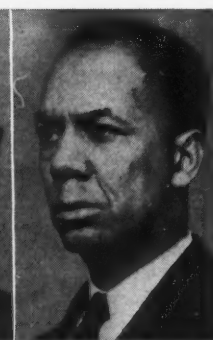
Dr. Henry J. Austin
Trenton, N. J.



Joseph L. Carwin
Stamford, Conn.



F. D. Ferguson
Sedalia Pettis Co. Mo.



Fred H. M. Turner
Brooklyn, N. Y.



Mrs. Esther I. Cooper
Arlington, Va.



William J. Johnson
West Chester, Pa.



J. S. Carrington
Halifax County, Va.



Dr. B. E. Howell
Dallas, Texas



George W. Edmonds
Lunenburg, Va.



Mrs. W. E. Mitchell
Ardmore, Okla.



Theodore M. Berry
Cincinnati, Ohio



John W. Ward
Bakersfield, Calif.



Julian D. Steele
Boston, Mass.



W. F. Turner
Denver, Colo.



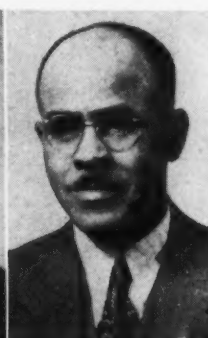
Dr. J. E. Beard
Charleston, S. C.



Rev. I. P. Pogue, Jr.
Rochester, N. Y.



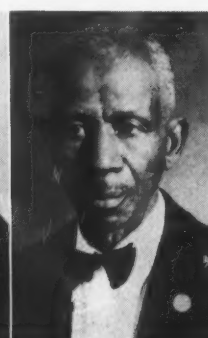
Charles S. Morehead
New Britain, Conn.



V. E. Tyler
La Junta, Calif.



Bennie Anderson
Kent, Ohio



J. H. Green
Pompano, Fla.



Benjamin Morrell
Mamaroneck, N. Y.



T. V. Magnum
Statesville, N. C.

A MEMBERSHIP SALE



The lady with the sandwich-man's sign is Mrs. Virgil Trent Spaulding, wife of the president of the Philadelphia branch. She is selling Eugene Slappy one of the 350 memberships she got for her branch.

DELAWARE: Through error the Wilmington branch was reported in May as gaining 1,933 members in its membership campaign. This branch calls attention to the fact that according to the treasurer's report \$1,036.50 was sent to the national office, which sum represents a membership of 2,121.

GEORGIA: Under the slogan "Back the Attack on the Home Front by Joining the Atlanta Branch NAACP," this branch reports a most successful campaign. Although the campaign began February 20 and was originally planned for one month, it was sold so successfully to the public that the time has been extended indefinitely. By May 1 the branch had added more than 4,500 members and collected \$6,181.75 in membership fees. The campaign covered not only Atlanta, but such surrounding settlements as Scott's

Crossing, Decatur, Thomaston, Edgewood, and Rockdale and College Parks. Citizenship schools to instruct Negroes in their civil and political rights are being sponsored by the Atlanta branch.

ILLINOIS: Cpl. W. H. Pryor, a member of the Centralia branch now stationed in Hawaii, has sent in 330 paid memberships to his branch from soldiers in Hawaii. Cpl. Pryor's goal is 500 members. Before his induction into the army, Cpl. Pryor was principal of the Lincoln School, Centralia, and active in civic and church affairs.

KANSAS: At the March meeting of the Leavenworth branch speakers discussed the Negro in the war and the postwar world. Pvt. Joseph January, Jr. discussed "The Negro Soldier in the Postwar World;" E.



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M. Lawson, the schools; Pvt. Poynter, Negro youth; and Rev. McNeil, the Negro's political status.

MARYLAND: In May the Baltimore branch was recipient of an oil painting of Walter White from white friends. Work of Mrs. Anne Beadenkopf of New York, the painting was sent by the artist with a letter expressing admiration for Mr. White as a leader. The letter also expressed interest in the program of the branch under the leadership of Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson.

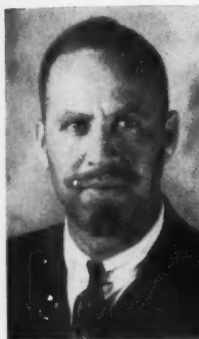
Mrs. Juliett Munsell of Carmel, Calif., also sent the branch a gift of \$25 for furtherance of its program.

At the monthly membership meeting in May, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was the speaker.

MICHIGAN: On May 28 the Detroit branch held a "Parade for Victory." Musical units included the Charles Young Post band, Tom Phillips Post Drum and Bugle Corps, and the Charles Young Post and Bugle Corps. Making up the colorful units of the parade were LaClaire Knox's Majorettes, Boy Scout troops, YMCA Boys Department, 1st Regiment under Lt. Hamilton of AWVS, captains and workers in the NAACP drive, James Europe Post, VFW, and other organizations throughout the city.

Prince Clark, retiring chairman of the NAACP labor committee, was feted at a testimonial dinner May 13 held at the Gotham Hotel. The banquet was attended by members and officers of the branch, various UAW-CIO locals, and friends of Clark. Speakers were Dr. James J. McClendon, president of the Detroit branch; Frank Fagin, president Local No. 2 UAW-CIO; S. C. Gibbons, chairman Membership Committee of the branch; Ed. Merchant; Samuel J. Lieb-

MORE PICTURES OF SOME NAACP BRANCH PRESIDENTS



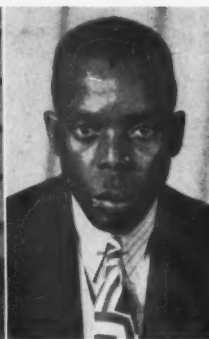
Rev. A. C. Alexander
Hobart, Okla.



Warren P. Pierson
Wichita Falls, Texas



C. H. Myers
Monroe, La.



Rev. Geo. W. Wilson
Altus, Okla.



C. Clayborn Bush
Covington, Va.



T. J. Harville
Binham, Ky.



Rev. E. H. Gilford
Ft. Towson, Okla.



R. H. Hines
Amarillo, Texas



Mrs. Julia E. Reed
Cedar Rapids, Iowa



L. H. Richardson
Logan, West Va.



Dr. W. A. J. Bullock
Chickasha, Okla.



T. G. Nutter
Charleston, W. Va.



H. A. Berry
Oklahoma City, Okla.



Marshall Currin
Charleston, Mo.



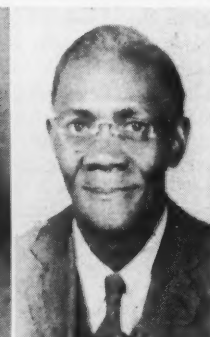
Lyman T. Johnson
Louisville, Ky.



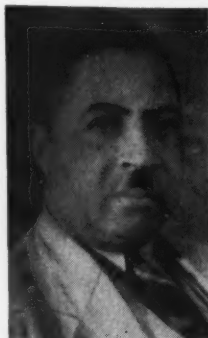
J. H. Cameron
Madison County, Ind.



William Mickens
St. Louis County, Mo.



M. C. Middleton
Cape Girardeau, Mo.



Dr. P. A. Stephens
Chattanooga, Tenn.



Rev. Elias S. Hardge
Jersey City, N. J.



Dr. D. E. Webster
Springfield, Ill.



Rev. Frank A. Reed
York, Pa.



F. D. Williston
Fayetteville, N. C.



Edward S. Hill
Balnew-Sparrows Pt., Md.

(This is a continuing feature and *The Crisis* will carry more pictures of branch presidents in subsequent issues.)

erman, executive secretary East Side Merchant's Association; Pete Wilson, committeeman, UAW-CIO; Mrs. Lillian Hatcher, executive board member, Local No. 742. Toastmaster was William Kennedy, Jr., chairman of the Labor Committee.

The first club to join the Detroit branch, the Vulpine Business Club, presented the branch with a check for \$50 May 12. The presentation was made by the club president, M. Bonner II.

NEW YORK: Membership campaign of the Brooklyn branch got well under way in May for its drive for 5,000 members. Brooklyn branch of the National Alliance of Postal Employees had the honor of being the first organization to subscribe a life membership through this branch.

PENNSYLVANIA: The Reading branch launched its spring membership campaign in May at a meeting held in the Union Baptist church. Mrs. Charlotte Johnson was elected chairman of the membership committee; Mrs. Maude Pendleton, vice-chairman, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary, was the guest speaker.

In Philadelphia the branch has been successful in having cardboard advertisements depicting figures of Negro cotton pickers in typical "mammy" and "pickinny" style removed from a display window of Kresge's 5 and 10c store at 931 Market street.

Local office of OPA has asked the assistance of the branch in securing enforcement of price regulations. Violations of rent ceilings in Negro neighborhoods have meant increases of as much as 90 percent in some instances. The branch has asked that persons contribute a few hours each week in checking prices as panel assistants.

A letter to the Southern Railroad Co., with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., from Mrs. Carolyn Davenport Moore, secretary of the Philadelphia branch, signed with 53 names, called attention of officials of that road to a condition which she experienced in a trip from Greensboro, N. C., to Washington, D. C. on May 29. The letter requested that action be taken to eliminate the overcrowded and congested conditions on coaches reserved for Negro passengers while "white" coaches remain vacant or are occupied by persons who used not one seat, but two, and sometimes as many as four. Attention was also called to the unsanitary condition of the aisles in the "colored" coaches.

"Why Negroes Should Support the NAACP" was the subject of a lively address delivered by Mrs. Frances Jones, member of the NAACP speakers bureau, at the opening meeting of the LaMott branch membership drive in May.

Thurgood Marshall was speaker at the May meeting of the Pittsburgh branch.

Mammie Varnes, a supplementary officer of the city police department sponsored by the York branch, recently received a citation from Mayor John L. Synder for good police work.

MRS. ROOSEVELT AT BALTIMORE BRANCH MEETING



Sterling Paige

Mrs. Beatrice Martin, co-chairman of the membership committee of the Baltimore branch, is shown presenting a token of appreciation to Mrs. Roosevelt. Left to right: Mrs. Martin, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Karl Pelzer, executive secretary of the Baltimore Committee for Home-Front Democracy, and Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore branch.

DETROIT YOUTH COUNCIL



Press and publicity committee of the Detroit youth council. Chairman is Miss Virginia Davis, second from the left.

TENNESSEE: Attorney Ausin T. Walden of Atlanta, Ga., was guest speaker at the May 14 meeting of the Chattanooga branch. Speaking on the subject of "The Status of Minority Groups in the Postwar World," he stressed the fact that the battle for human rights was the same on both the home and the battle fronts.

At the May meeting of the Johnson City branch members were feted at a banquet. The banquet was presided over by Mrs. Edward W. Carson. J. Niel Armstrong was chosen representative to the Wartime Conference of the association.

What One White Woman Did

(Continued from page 223)

immediately went to work with such a club. I have another plan in mind: I am considering offering a modest cash prize this coming school year to the student in the college, where I have begun my collection of books, who writes the most interesting condensation of a book written by a Negro or about the Negro. I have made no definite commitment for this undertaking but am wondering if it would be a good thing.

I know I am not entirely rid of prejudice, which I regret, but I am trying to improve my thinking day by day. I have become civilized enough so that I am willing for a Negro woman to do the same kind of work I do and receive the same pay for the same kind of work.

Personal Credo

It would be presumptuous for me to offer advice on what the Negro needs most. I am in the primer stage of information on the subject. But the two things I want most for the Negro are equal opportunity for education and equal pay for equal work, especially the equal pay for equal work. Equal opportunity for education and equal opportunity for work at equal pay would necessarily go hand in hand because the Negro cannot do any kind of work he wishes to do without educational opportunity to train himself for that work. I am eager to see the Negro accepted in all labor unions, and I am eager to see him have the vote everywhere to help bring these two things to pass. Education is the best remedy for solving problems but education alone will never bring about equal opportunity for education and equal pay for equal work. We have been taught for thousands of years that murder and theft were wrong yet we still have to inflict severe penalties for those offenses. Human nature being what it is, we need a law, with a fixed penalty for its violation, against discrimination in educational opportunity and against discrimination in wages for the

same kind of work. I understand our Supreme Court of the United States has all along held against discrimination in pay for equal work, but there seems to be no fixed penalty for its violation. Law should compel us to observe those two principles of fair dealing.

Her Reward

This is the story of my personal reaction to my short study of the Negro question. My reward has been my own mental and spiritual enrichment and development. Likely the few small things I have done have accomplished nothing whatever for the Negro. I am a working woman. What I can do is altogether insignificant. At least I am concerned where I was indifferent before, and that means others can be interested.

Who knows but what we might interest another Charley Jones Soong? We all know something of the history of the famous Soong family of China. We may forget the part Charley Jones played in that story. Charles Jones was a humble, unknown Methodist preacher. He preached Christianity to the young Soong boy who was converted and baptized. No one could pronounce the Soong boy's first name. The boy suggested that his name be recorded on the church roll as Charles Jones Soong. Thereafter he was known as Charley Jones Soong. Some one sent him through a Methodist college. He returned to China where he became rich and powerful. He published the Bible; he married a Chinese girl, and gave to the world six famous children, including his daughter, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the most influential family in China today. Indirectly that unknown, forgotten Methodist preacher, Charley Jones, is now helping mold the whole life of China. Let's not be discouraged. We might speak the right word at the right time to another Charley Jones Soong who would one day make a new and better world for all of us.

ILO Conference

(Continued from page 220)

ledger.

First, the resistance of British government and employers to any proposals for action.

Second, the disunity of the American labor movement.

Third, the American Negro's own failure to assume his share of leadership and to adjust his outlook to a global scale.

Fourth, the backward labor policies of the Negro governments of Haiti, Ethiopia and Liberia. These policies were responsible for the failure of these countries to send labor delegates to the Conference.

And fifth, the absence of the Soviet Union from the Conference. The British Government delegates frankly conceded that the ILO could not go forward on major issues until

the USSR comes in. The USSR has the most advanced policy in the world with regard to minority peoples, and a decade ago guaranteed employment to its citizens. With Russia playing a major role in the postwar world, reality becomes further fortified and the hope that exploitation of colonial peoples may once and for all come to an end becomes a vision with form and substance.

UNKNOWN SOLDIER

Over my head I hear tramping of feet
In time with the drummer's monotonous beat.
Over my head I hear cavalry ride.
God! Are the warlords not yet satisfied?

Now, deep in my memory, embedded there,
I find the poor remnants of a tattered prayer.
And I pray those noises are but a parade,
A holiday feature of forces displayed.

But down thru the clay, and the muck, and
the mud
There comes the aroma of freshly spilled
blood.
And I know they are fighting again, where
I died. . . .
Oh, God! When will the warlords be satisfied?

E. A. K. SENECAI

TODAY-TOMORROW

Today is grey:
drips like wet velvet
crys silently within
broods in a corner of dark time
repents for yesterday's desire.

Tomorrow: will be gay:
feel like lush velvet-orange at high noon.
laugh when each second tickles its fat chin.
strut down the dizzy milky way
exalt,—for having known today.

DAVID W. CANNON, JR.

DEATH

Why was man born to die?
Work and sorrow are the ties
That bind his weary feet
To that slave ship of hope.

Days of sunshine,
Mixed with raging storms;
Black nights,
Spangled with starry skies;
Love, laughter,
Tears, for his blessings;
Seasons fall
In ceaseless cessations.

If death should be the end of all;
Then, of what value is life's toil?
'Tis not so, that death shall end.
Rather, to unveil the cast of what might have
been.

PRICE DEAYLLON RICE.

The Mountains of the Moon

A load of laughter in our hearts
And on our lips a tune,
We went to search for plunder in
The mountains of the moon.
A sleepy bird was twittering
Out in the night's deep blue,
A Song he had forgot to sing
Before his day was through.

We danced upon a moonbeam shaft
That lit a fairy lane;
We chased a planet round its course
And half way back again;
We watched the new-born flowers of Spring
Flung from the arms of June,
And oh, we searched for plunder in
The mountains of the moon.

We looked above the hills of time
Into the world to be,
Where newer orders ruled sublime
In peace and liberty.
So glorious a world it was,
Its orders all attune,
We 'most forgot the plunder in
The mountains of the moon.

At last we found the rainbow's end
And there was gold galore,
The gold of fifty billion dreams
Heaped in an ancient store.
Our souls grew rich in splendours there
But dawn came up too soon,
And so we left our plunder in
The mountains of the moon.

THELMA E. JOHNSON

The Open Road

Let us lie 'neath the stars at night,
Drowsy lulled by the sea's soft roar—
And wake with the dew on blades of grass,
Like a rajah's jewels from Mysore.

Through the fields just freshly ploughed,
With their rows of upturned sod;
We'll steer our course by the robins note,
And God's gentle chastening rod.

We'll rest at the noonday sun,
'Neath the shade of the friendly trees;
And hear the song of the humming birds,
And the busy, buzzing bees.

Come with me down the open road,
To where the greensward meets the blue—
For that's the place where happiness dwells,
And the land where dreams come true.

JOHN HENRY OWENS

New Negro Magazine

The first issue of *Headlines*, a Negro news magazine which digests and reviews the highlights in the news of Negro people, appeared on the newsstands June 20. The magazine is edited and published by Louis E. Martin, editor of the *Michigan Chronicle*.

New Committee Member

John W. Mitchell of Hampton, Va., has been appointed to the staff of the Interracial Section of the War Finance Committee, according to an announcement of the Treasury Department. Mr. Mitchell will be a special consultant in promoting the sales of War Bonds among Negro farmers in connection with his work as Federal Extension Field Agent for the Department of Agriculture.

New Democratic Party in S. C.

Negroes of South Carolina have launched a Progressive Democratic party and have invited the poor whites of the state to join them in a war on "demagogic and mediocre politicians."

Coast Guard Officers

The first branch of the naval service to commission Negroes, the U. S. Coast Guard, now has the highest percentage of commissioned and non-commissioned Negro officers in the armed forces. With approximately 4,000 Negroes serving in the Coast Guard on March 31, 1944, a total of 986 colored men were officers. Two of these officers had been commissioned as lieutenants and another as ensign. The others include warrant officers, chief petty officers, and first, second and third class petty officers.

Enlisted Man Average Young

The average enlisted man in the armed forces is approximately 25.1 years old; in the Army, 25.78; in the Navy, 23.50; in the Marine Corps, 23.50. In the Army, 60.5 percent of enlisted men are under 26; in the Navy, 71.2; in the Marine Corps, 77.3.

Combat Anniversary 99th Celebrated

Exactly one year after they flew their first mission over an air base at Fardjouna, North Africa, pilots of the 99th Fighter Squadron flew their 500th combat mission, June 2, 1944. Now on detached service with a fighter group which has been flying in close support of advancing allied armies in Italy, in daily dive bombing operations against enemy supply lines, motor transport, rail yards and gun emplacements, the squadron has flown 3,278 sorties during its first year of service.

Swims Through Hail of Bullets To Rescue Buddies

Trapped by the enemy while on patrol, Sergeant James Johnston, of Albany, Georgia, second in command of a group of infantrymen, swam through a hail of bullets to bring aid to his buddies on the Japanese-infested island of Bougainville.

Book Reviews

HOMO AFRICANUS

Race and Crime. By Willem Adriaan Bongers. (Translated from the Dutch by Margaret Matthews Hordyk). New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. XII+130pp. \$1.50.

Cultural and Racial Variations in Patterns of Intellect. By Solomon Machover, Ph.D. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1943. 91pp. \$1.60.

Characteristics of the American Negro. By Otto Klineberg, editor. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. XII+409pp. \$4.00.

All three of these books seek to apply the methods of science to the intangible concept of race. The Bongers and Klineberg books are summaries of important investigations: the first in Europe, the second in America; the Machover book is a report of tests conducted on Negro and white criminals of New York City.

A noted criminologist, Dr. Bongers summarized his life's studies, saw a copy safely off to America, and committed suicide when the Nazis overran his native Holland. Deploing the "present senseless race prejudice" of the Nazis, Bongers compares with some objectivity statistics of crime among Jews, Negroes, and Mediterranean, Alpine and Nordic peoples. Commendable though his efforts, it is regrettable that scanty and obsolete data cause a distorted appraisal of the American Negro. Correctly the higher crime rate of the colored American is ascribed to a milieu "strongly conducive to crime," but incorrectly and upon the flimsiest of evidence (in spite of the assertion that it comes from "serious unprejudiced writers") is Bongers' "impression although without complete certainty that the inherent intelligence of the Negro is less than that of the white man." A single example shows the inadequacy of his source materials: data from Monroe Work are cited to the effect that Negro crime in the North is three times higher than in the South. Actually Bongers is comparing southern data for 1913 with northern data for 1900; furthermore, the northern data refer only to the city of Chicago. *Race and Crime* is valuable chiefly for its summary of criminal tendencies in pre-Nazi Europe. Except for the unjustified assumption concerning Negro intelligence, the conclusions are fair: that there is no "special predisposition for crime" among races, and participation in crime "becomes a question of circumstances under which a man has lived from birth, and under which he still lives."

Approaching the same problem from a different point of view, Machover in *Cultural and Racial Variations in Patterns of Intelligence* seeks to compare the intelligence of "matched" Negro and white criminals. Four hundred and twenty-five males indicted in New York for a variety of crimes are divided into six groups: (1) 50 Negro criminals born in the South, (2) 50 Negro criminals born in New York, (3) 100 Negro criminals selected at random from both North and South, (4) 100 white criminals selected to "match" the Negroes of group 3, (5) 100 white criminals (75 of whom come from group 4) and 25 of whom "match" an equal number in group 6, and (6) 100 white non-criminals, 75 of which "match" an equal number in group 5. One is inclined to believe that from such heterogeneous samples any results may emerge. The various groups are "matched" in age, level of schooling, and IQ, and compared according to the pattern of subtest response according to the Bellevue Adult Intelligence Scale. Ten subtests of the Scale are used: A. Verbal: (1) general comprehension, (2) arithmetical, (3) reasoning, (4) general information, (5) similarities; and B. Performance: (6) picture arrangement, (7) picture completion, (8) object assembly, (9) block design, and (10) digit symbol.

Machover finds a difference in the pattern of response to these various subtests between Negro and white criminals and between Negro criminals of the North and those reared in the South. The results would perhaps be in clearer perspective if a Negro non-criminal group and a southern white criminal group had been included. Machover's conclusion that Negro criminals are "significantly, if slightly, differentiable from white criminals . . . [indicating] a difference between the two races" does not appear to consider the question of the different environments in which Negroes and whites develop in both North and South. Also the investigator dismisses too readily the matter of "rapport" between subject and interviewer. Would the same results obtain if Negro psychiatrists tested the Negro criminals? The white criminals? Furthermore, one might question the use of a discriminant function method, one which searches for differences rather than similarities in the groups. And finally, is there any such thing as "matching" the schooling and IQ of Negroes and whites? As Machover admits, the question on one intelligence test: "How many feet in a yard is hardly as familiar a concept to many Negroes as 'How many kinds of different meat in a tarpin (terrapin)'" It would appear that differences in subtest responses in this study represent no more than differences in background and experience; the assumption that the results show differences in the "races" is vague and untenable. When educational psychologists are able to match Negro and white backgrounds then and then only will assumptions as to the comparative intelli-

gence of the two groups be valid.

Added point to this assertion is furnished by the book edited by Dr. Klineberg of Columbia University. The title, *Characteristics of the American Negro*, is itself somewhat disturbing. Possibly in no other caste or class situation in the world are there human beings with characteristics so diverse and elusive as those of the American Negro. A compilation of monographs prepared by distinguished scholars for the Carnegie Myrdal "Study of the Negro in America," the present volume is described as a critical survey of the available literature in several related fields, rather than as an account of new research previously unpublished. The fields covered include Negro stereotypes, personality, intelligence, "race" attitudes, hybrids and miscegenation and mental diseases.

While Klineberg in the Foreword admits the difficulty of defining such controversial words as "race" and "racial," the fact stands out glaringly that many investigators whose work is here reported have organized their researches around the concept of an *American Negro*, distinct and separate from other Americans, who therefore can be proved different. And yet *Characteristics of the American Negro* is valuable as an annotated bibliography of race under the microscope, however out of focus it sometimes appears.

Parts Two and Three, for which Klineberg himself is responsible, constitute a revealing summary of researches into Negro intelligence and personality. In commenting on various studies in these fields Klineberg points out the difficulty of white investigators maintaining "rapport" with Negroes and the futility of attempting to apply a single yardstick to people of different social and economic backgrounds. Critical of certain "intelligence" tests, he notes that the word "silence" as answer to the question: "What should prevail in churches and libraries?" is beyond the scope of people denied admittance to libraries, people to whom church affords shouting compensation for various restrictions. The other sections provide adequate analysis of important contemporary studies of "race" attitudes, miscegenation, and mental diseases among American Negroes.

The first section, "Stereotypes of the American Negro," is somewhat misleading. As setting for a scientific analysis of Negro "characteristics," this section quotes Negro and white writers from Reconstruction down to the present, a period during which every conceivable opinion about Negro "traits" has been expressed, from W. E. B. DuBois' scholarly appraisal of race to Ernest Sevier Cox's drivel about the need of protecting "White America." Assumptions made in this section are puzzling:

... the stereotypes which a dominant group develops concerning the traits of a subordinate group will be to some extent based upon observable characteristics in the subordinate group, and that while the stereotypes may be permeated with prejudice and with the ideology of inferiority they may still reflect a certain amount of truth concerning the subordinate group.

In a footnote, the editor states his opinion that the point is "plausible" but "unverified."

It would appear to this reviewer not even plausible that out of the stereotypes may be distilled the essence of group behavior. Certain it is that numerous examples may be found to support a stereotype; yet generalizations about the group with which such individuals are associated do not follow. Not only prejudice but also plain singlesightedness is responsible for stereotypes, from which can be drawn no valid conclusions concerning the group in its entirety. A case in point: Writing from Florida, where thousands of pleasure seeking war profiteers have been paying \$100 a day for rooms, besieging ration boards for extra gasoline, and demanding Pullman transportation to return home, Roger Babson, blind to these excesses, complains that the Negro is becoming a "saucy spendthrift." The truth is that most Negroes do, in the ways available to them, just about what other Americans do. And it is questionable whether what many Negroes do in response to certain special stimuli can properly be labelled as "racial." Even the explanation that stereotypes characterize the "typical" Negro (the masses rather than the minority of "highly sophisticated and acculturated Negroes") does not stand up without a clearcut definition of just what is the "typical" Negro. It is as though the "typical" Negro were the one in whom certain characteristics have been observed and to whom therefore "race" traits apply.

In other respects *Characteristics of the American Negro* offers a useful index to the most significant studies of Negro "behavior." Klineberg's conclusion that racial differences have not been demonstrated by means of intelligence tests is an adequate and fair summary for all three of the present books. Until investigators can decide what is the "typical" Negro (and the "typical" white man) attempts to define racial characteristics and to discover racial differences will be unrewarding, as futile as attempting to chart the characteristics of the American white man. And as long as a special mode of life is designated for the Negro, just so long will it be impossible for the most carefully-controlled experiments to prove anything about the comparative intelligence of Negroes and whites.

ROSCOE E. LEWIS

FAMOUS PEOPLE

13 Against the Odds. By Edwin R. Embree. New York: The Viking Press, 1944. 261pp. Illustrated. \$2.75.

In *13 Against the Odds* Edwin R. Embree has delineated the lives of thirteen Negroes, each of whom has had to win his way to a position of leadership against the odds of numbers, economic uncertainty, and social and cultural taboos—all those things which fix the Negro's "place" in the United States. The galaxy, chosen by a "special panel of two hundred persons, white and colored, who know the group best," includes Mrs. Mary

McLeod Bethune, Richard Wright, Charles S. Johnson, William Grant Still, A. Philip Randolph, Joe Louis, and Paul Robeson. Each sketch is worth reading for two reasons: first, because it focuses attention upon a person who deserves to be better known; secondly, because, facilely and sympathetically written, it provides both pleasurable and profitable reading. As a group the sketches give somewhat more than a glimpse into what American Negroes now living (excepting Dr. Carver) have accomplished since late slavery days.

All the biographies are not of equal power. Among the best are those on Walter White, Charles S. Johnson, Marian Anderson, and W. E. B. DuBois. White is something of the adventurous, bold, yet designedly careful personality which has impinged itself upon the public mind. Johnson demurely, tenaciously fights his way to solid respect and intellectually established competence, supported by the rigid disciplinary code learned in boyhood from his father. Marian Anderson, warm and deep in personality as in voice, entrances the reader with her half naive, half sophisticated charm and comforts him with her homey simplicity. In the portrait of DuBois the admirable personality, the almost austere gentlemanliness, and incisiveness and expansiveness of intellect are all caught in greater or lesser degree. Unfortunately this biographer does not establish the position of DuBois in his conflict with Booker T. Washington, a conflict which perhaps as clearly as any other in Dr. DuBois' long career reveals the man's philosophy.

The two sketches which fall shortest of what the general reader might expect are those on the late Dr. Carver and Mrs. Bethune. Very little is added to what is already known of either, though these facile sketches serve well enough as refreshers on fact. True, those who do not know the "Amazon of God" will sense a cryptic humor not usually associated with her "public" personality, but few will gather that here is a woman whose flamboyant emphasis upon the integrity of personality beneath a black skin has more than once put to shame the truculent prejudices of the Deep South. Despite this unevenness of quality, those who know Dr. Embree's books and articles will recognize in these sketches something of the sturdy quality which has characterized his work, usually founded on research and scholarly analysis.

What stands out most against the author is the tenuousness of his position. Presumably, every biographer is obligated to establish for his readers criteria for evaluating his work. This Dr. Embree fails to do. As already indicated, the thirteen Negroes called "tops today" were chosen by a special panel of two hundred persons who were given no criteria as basis of selection. If Dr. Embree wished to delineate the lives of thirteen Negroes, each representing "one in a million," who have accomplished most against the odds his first obligation was to establish a definitive basis of selection.

Lacking criteria established by the author, one might ask, for example, how does Joe Louis find a place among the notables while outstanding ministers, lawyers, business men, builders of business enterprises, skillful users of folklore in prose or poetry, brilliant defenders of court cases, workers in highly technical branches of medicine as equally solid contributions to some of those delineated in this book. Even at the expense of controversy, which is likely to result from this book anyway, the author could have assumed full responsibility for selection of his subjects. By this means he could have given a better cross-section of representative Negroes without damage to what seems to be his fundamental purpose.

ARTHUR E. BURKE

Miracle In Flatbush

(Continued from page 222)

some tears in her eyes.

Outside the church I looked at the white statue of Mary and the boy Christ. I wondered what the heck they thought of all this.

When next Sunday came I sat down next to her again. I guess she didn't know what to make of me.

Everybody was staring at her. They must have known something was in the air. Barton was jumpy. But he had a grim smile on his face. The minister was nervous too. He stumbled quite a bit in his opening prayer.

Just then I heard a lot of people moving around in their seats back of me as though they were turning around. I turned around too.

Barton was coming down the aisle with a big husky cop behind him. When they got to us he stopped. "There she is," he said.

"O. K., come along sister," the cop said.

"But why, I don't understand?" She looked at me half scared and all mixed up.

"Don't argue. Come along." And the cop took her by the arm. Barton still had the same grim smile.

The girl got up with her head held high. She didn't look either to the left or to the right as the cop led her up the aisle. Barton followed behind.

I knew everyone was watching but I got up and followed along too. Where did Barton get his nerve. He couldn't have someone thrown out of church just because she was colored.

"Yes, she came in early before anyone else was here. And she was loitering around the poor box there. She even had her nail file out trying to pry it open. I was lucky to catch her."

"But that's not true. He isn't telling the truth."

"Shut up sister. Do you want to prefer charges against her?"

"Well I hadn't thought of that."

"Just say the word and I'll lock her up."

"Why not give her just one more chance," Barton said.

"Suit yourself, Mister."

"All right, if she stays out of here and we don't ever catch her loitering around here again."

"I'm the cop on the beat. You call me in the next time you catch her around. I'll lock her up so fast."

I thought I should say something. But what could I say. The girl was heaving deep breaths and I thought she was going to cry. She was still trying to hold her head up high.

She said, "My father's a big doctor. He won't stand for this."

"Shut up, sister. You're lucky I don't lock you up." The cop grabbed her by the arm, dragged her to the door and gave her such a hard push that she almost stumbled. "Now git."

She recovered herself and started to walk down the street slowly still holding her head up proudly. Suddenly she stopped dead still. Then she screamed as loudly as I have ever heard anyone scream. And she ran down the street sobbing.

That night I was out in the street walking. I had been walking most of the day. I stopped in front of the Church and looked at the white statue. The street lights weren't very bright because of the dim out. I stood there quite awhile just looking.

It was beginning to rain a little bit. I could hear thunder in the distance. It was the first thunder storm this spring. It began to rain harder. The thunder grew louder. Pretty soon the thunder was in terrible crashes. The blinding flashes of lightning made me almost want to throw my hands in front of my face. I was glad to get inside.

I didn't think I would sleep much that night but I did. I guess it was the walking that did it.

The next morning the sun was shining. It was an early spring morning, clean and cool after the storm.

When I got in front of the church I stopped dead still. The statue was there all right. But it wasn't the same. Mary wasn't a woman of white stone anymore. And Jesus wasn't a boy of white stone either.

They were both black. It wasn't just a dark grey color. It was black as black could be. Coal black.

People tried to explain it by saying that lightning had struck the statue and had had a chemical effect of some kind or other on the stone.

Barton had the statue taken down a week later. He said that it made Jesus and Mary look like damned black niggers.

Barton had the statue taken down. But I know that this is not the end of the story.

BUY WAR BONDS

Crisis in American Caste

(Continued from page 225)

expressed by a large segment of the white population. It is to be explained as a consequence of the fact that the avenues for the expression of hostility are being tightened up, and that apart from hatred of the Jap and Nazi, which can have little concrete form for the American civilian population, frustration finds sanctioned outlet in aggressive acts toward the Negro. One cannot criticize the army, which actually threatens the "normal" activities of a large section of the population; one cannot engage in strikes for higher wages; one can only complain against the "higher costs of living," but not against the system which produces them. One can see the increase in the number of Negro bus drivers (why aren't they in the army?); one can have difficulty getting Negro scrub women; one can uncomfortably tend a machine next to a recently upgraded Negro; in short, one can openly hate the Negro, and one's neighbor will wholeheartedly agree. The Negro is on the edge of the vortex because the conflicts inherent in economic and social life can most easily and "correctly" be manifested against this scapegoat.

What then is the solution to "race prejudice"? The solution obviously lies in the proper channelization of hostilities and, more fundamentally, in the elimination (if such were possible) of the contradictions in social life which give rise to the conflicts. I hold no brief for those who feel that an attack on the prejudices themselves, by means of a citation of facts, will greatly alter the continuation of anti-minority sentiments. The causes are too overlain with emotion and too underlain with self interest for mere facts to have an effect. Nor do I agree that for Negroes to remain "white man's niggers" will seriously aid their condition. The answer lies in participation by Negroes in the life of the community to such an extent that they are no longer defined in terms of caste, but as individuals struggling for a living in a mal-oriented society.

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I love your eyes;
Not large eyes, yet warm, wise and tender ones;
I've seen them clouded—tearful—misty
And weary from the cares of the day,
Filled with anxiety.
But I have seen them glow
And grow bright
With the love and tenderness of Motherhood,
And with the simple joys of life.—
I would to God I could imprint
My visage in your eyes eternally—
That I may know,
Through storm or calm—
That I am always there,
Even if memory failed you.—
I love your eyes.

BOOKER T. MEDFORD

A Child's Eyes

God,
In infinite mercy,
Has sent young eyes,
Bright eyes;
Eager, innocent;
Twin pools of heavens' light
To stir and warm a parent's heart.
Shining eyes—confident.
Dear Lord, keep them always so.

BOOKER T. MEDFORD

Workmen's Compensation Referee

Richard L. Baltimore, Sr., has been appointed a workmen's compensation referee. He is the first Negro to hold this position, and began his official duties June 1.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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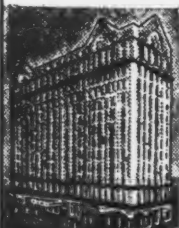
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